

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

LOC-01/04/01

Special Report for the President

(EYES ONLY - VERY SENSITIVE)

by

Tom Charles Huston

FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
PROTEST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

SANITIZED

per 1.4(c)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect 3.5

NLN 06-08/1 per 1.4(c); 3.3(b)(1) 2/28/2008

By KB NARA, Date 11/10/2008

[p. 1 of 55]

SANITIZED COPY

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

FOREIGN COMMUNIST SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
PROTEST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	3
I. ROLE OF THE DOMESTIC COMMUNIST LEFT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT	5
A. Influence of the Communist Party, USA	5
B. Influence of the Progressive Labor Party	7
C. Influence of the Socialist Workers Party	10
II. COMMUNIST BLOC INFLUENCE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT	13
A. Soviet Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement	13
B. Role of Soviet Bloc Intelligence	15
C. Chinese Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement	16
D. Role of the Chinese Intelligence Service	18
E. Other Chinese Support Activities	18
F. Cuban Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement	21
G. Role of the Cuban Intelligence Service	23
H. Other Cuban Support Activities	24
III. COMMUNIST FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF U.S. REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS	28
IV. CONTACTS BETWEEN LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN COMMUNIST GROUPS	34
V. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	36

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

FNLN 06-08/1 : 204557

SANITIZED
per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

APPENDICES

Pages

TAB A - Contacts Between U.S. Peace Movement and Foreign Communist Organizations in Preparation for Pentagon Peace Demonstration of 21 October 1967	40
TAB B - International Conferences Attended by Representatives of U.S. Revolutionary Protest Movement	42
TAB C - Visits to the United States by Foreign Revolutionaries	49
TAB D - Organizational Appendix	50

SANITIZED per 14(c)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 3 of 55]

INTRODUCTION

* * *

The President's initial inquiry was limited to the question, Does the United States Government have iron-clad proof that foreign Communist powers are helping to finance campus disorders in this country? The answer to that question is deceptively simple: No, we do not have "iron-clad" proof. However, we do have substantial proof that foreign Communists are providing some funds to some organizations for the purpose of fostering domestic disorder, not only on the campus, but in the larger community as well.

The magnitude of the threat of revolutionary violence in America cannot accurately be measured by the degree of financial support revolutionary organizations are receiving from abroad. Other weapons in the revolutionary arsenal are as powerful as money; for example, the "thoughts" of Mao Tse-tung are mental missiles launched against the minds of thousands of young Americans and can prove as fatal as bullets. Communist revolution begins in the mind, not in the stomach; it is among the best educated that the spark of Communist revolution is ignited, and it should not be surprising that the leadership of the New Left and the black extremist movement are well-educated, middle-class "intellectuals."

We have overwhelming evidence that the revolutionary protest movement in this country is receiving myriad types of support from foreign Communists. We have evidence of efforts to encourage violence, to recruit espionage agents, to coordinate international opposition to U.S. foreign policy objectives, to provide guerrilla training to U.S. nationals, to encourage desertions from the U.S. Armed Forces, and to generally encourage and support revolutionary action in the United States. The evidence we have available supports, I believe, the inference that many young Americans do not realize the extent to which they are being used to further the objectives of international Communism and, perhaps, the inference that most Americans do not realize the extent to which the so-called "protest movement" in this country is influenced by, and susceptible to the control of, foreign Communist powers.

Although revolutionary violence in America is one of the most pressing domestic problems facing the nation, this is the first time that an effort has been made to prepare a comprehensive inter-agency, all-source intelligence estimate of support being rendered to American revolutionary organizations by foreign Communists. For that reason, I have deliberately prepared a detailed analysis of the evidence presently available on the subject. I believe that the information contained in this report is sufficiently important to justify the President's attention. However, since it is so lengthy, the President may prefer to read only the most significant portions.

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

I have prepared a summary of findings and recommendations which will give the President a brief resume of the most significant findings. In addition to this summary, I would recommend that the President also read the following sections:

- I.A - Influence of the Communist Party, USA, at page 5.
- I.B - Influence of the Progressive Labor Party, at page 7.
- II.E. - Other Chinese Communist Support Activities, at page 18.
- II.H. - Other Cuban Support Activities, at page 24.
- III. - Communist Financial Support of U.S. Revolutionary Organizations, at page 28.
- IV. - Contacts Between Leaders of the Revolutionary Protest Movement and Representatives of Foreign Communist Groups, at page 34.
- V. - Observations and Conclusions, at page 36.

SANITIZED per 14(c)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 5 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

* * * * *

I. Findings

(1) The Communist Party, USA has attempted to penetrate and take control of New Left and black militant groups, but thus far has been unsuccessful.

(2) The Progressive Labor Party (the Chinese Communist party in the U.S.) has successfully penetrated the Students for a Democratic Society and now controls a significant number of its local chapters. It had a majority of the delegates at the SDS national convention held in June, and as a result of its attempt to seize control, succeeded in splitting the organizations.

(3) Progressive Labor has close ties with Peking and has received substantial financial support from the Chinese in the last two years. During the period 1963-1965, the party also received financial support from Cuba.

(4) The Socialist Workers Party (a Trotskyite organization) has played a major role in organizing antiwar activities throughout the country and in organizing student disorders at Berkeley.

(5) For a number of years Mao Tse-tung and Fidel Castro have publicly expressed support for the New Left and black extremist movements in this country. In June 1969, Leonid Brezhnev at the international conference of the Communist Parties in Moscow set forth a new Moscow line which suggests a new awareness on the part of the Soviets of the revolutionary potential in the New Left and black extremist movements in this country.

(6) Although the Soviets have not made significant efforts to date to exploit the situation in the U.S., the Chinese and Cubans have. In addition to ~~the~~ support of the Progressive Labor Party, the Chinese have established good contacts with the black extremists. Castro now appears to be placing top priority on encouraging the activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panthers. We have considerable evidence that Castro has promised increased financial support for these groups as well as revolutionary training for its cadres.

(7) There is overwhelming evidence pointing to close cooperation and coordination between the U.S. "peace movement" and the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. As recently as May of this year, U.S. citizens met with officials of North Vietnam and the NLF to consider ways to revitalize the antiwar movement in this country.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 6 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

(8) The intelligence community is not bringing to bear upon this problem all the resources presently or potentially available. As a consequence, there are significant gaps in our knowledge of the scope and nature of many important aspects of the relationship between U.S. revolutionary organizations and foreign Communist powers.

(9) There is inadequate coordination within the intelligence community in dealing with this problem and a failure on the part of the community to work jointly to insure that all important targets are fully covered and all resources adequately exploited.

(10) Although the increasing revolutionary violence in this country poses a major threat to our national security, no intelligence collection priorities have been established, no effort has been made to coordinate and analyze the intelligence we currently have available, and no effort has been made to devise realistic and effective countermeasures to head off the clear threat posed by increasing Communist support for, influence over, and likely control of the revolutionary protest movement in this country.

II. Recommendations.

(1) That, the President direct the intelligence community to devise a detailed plan for increasing the collection efforts targeted against the U.S. revolutionary protest movement and its contacts with foreign Communists. Because of the institutional jealousies within the intelligence community, I believe this could best be done if an inter-agency task force were established under the chairmanship of an individual not a member of any of the agencies involved in the study.

(2) That, the President direct that a review be conducted of the resources potentially available government-wide which could be utilized in the formulation of a solution to the problem of increasing revolutionary violence in America.

(3) That, the President direct that a study be made to determine exactly who in the government is presently involved in programs relating to this problem, what those programs are, and how effective they have been. Particular attention should be given to the question of whether diffused responsibility is largely responsible for the government's inability to date to develop countermeasures against the activities of revolutionary organizations in this country.

(4) That, the President consider attaching a high priority to this problem.

(5) That, the President not release the contents of this report without first affording an opportunity for it to be sanitized in order to avoid compromising the sensitive sources of much of the information contained herein.

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

~~TOP SECRET~~

I. ROLE OF THE DOMESTIC COMMUNIST LEFT IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT

* * * * *

Foreign Communist support of revolutionary protest movements in the United States can be manifested in a number of ways, not the least important of which is the role played by the domestic Communist Left in organizing, supporting, and providing leadership and direction to the revolutionary activity which is underway in this country.

Since the Communist Party, USA is under the domination and control of the Soviet Union, it can be used increasingly as a vehicle to support these movements if the Soviet Union decides this is an appropriate course of action. Similarly, the Progressive Labor Party and other pro-Chinese Communist groups can be utilized by Communist China as a channel for rendering support to protest movements in the United States. And what might be called the "third force" in international Communist circles -- Trotskyism -- is also represented in this country by the Socialist Workers Party which has played a major role in the anti-war protest movement.

The tentacles of influence reach out from the Domestic Communist Left and encompass virtually all of the New Left and Black Power groups.

A. Influence of the Communist Party, USA

Since it was founded in September, 1919, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) has been unswerving in its allegiance to the Soviet Union. Over the years the Soviets have utilized the CPUSA as a possible channel for Soviet support of the current revolutionary protest movements in this country. All available information derived from investigations by the FBI indicates that while the CPUSA has made overtures to the revolutionary protest groups active today, there has been limited acceptance of the CPUSA by these groups.

In recognition of its lack of support among youthful activists on college campuses, the CPUSA is currently making plans to establish a new youth group directed toward youth in industry. Party leaders, on the other hand, have criticized New Left groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as petty bourgeois radicals. Party youth who have attempted to have the CPUSA relate more clearly with such groups have been isolated and silenced. The CPUSA theoretical organ, Political Affairs, in its March and April, 1969, issues, contained a two-part article entitled "the Student Rebellion," which clearly set out CPUSA opposition to the anti-Soviet, anti-CPUSA line of student protest groups.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

Within the past year leaders of the CPUSA in the Midwest met with leaders of SDS to discuss closer cooperation or possible recruitment of these individuals into the party. These overtures were completely rebuffed by the SDS people who stated that while there were no disagreements with CPUSA philosophy, it is most doubtful the CPUSA is relevant today. When it was proposed that there be some form of collectivity between the two groups, the SDS leaders replied that the CPUSA is not involved in SDS collectives because the CPUSA has nothing to contribute.

Subsequently, a leader of the SDS in conversation with leaders of the CP of Illinois stated that the "Establishment" as it exists today must be changed, even if this change must be through force. He added that the "Establishment" must be replaced by a communist government, there has to be a communist party, and there has to be a communist revolution. However, he said that SDS is the only group to organize the youth, thus rejecting the CPUSA as a possible vehicle for bringing about this revolution.

The ideological rigidity of the CPUSA severely limits the options open to the party in their efforts to exert influence upon the New Left. By virtue of its subservience to Moscow, the Party cannot adopt a more flexible ideological approach until authorized to do so by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and although there are indications that Soviet theoreticians now recognize their lack of status in the revolutionary student movement in the United States and the need to become influential in the current ideological struggle in order to orient it to Soviet style communism, it will doubtless be some time before Moscow develops a new line. In the meantime, the CPUSA is likely to be limited to a supporting, rather than a directing, role in the New Left movement.

With regard to the activists in the black extremist groups, the CPUSA is under a severe strain in attempting to develop a program to attract these individuals while at the same time adhering to its pro-Soviet and Marxist-Leninist ideology. The fight within the CPUSA on the way in which to handle the black question is a bitter one and no clear-cut policy has been established. An attempt by black nationalists within the CPUSA to pass a resolution recommending that Negroes arm themselves for self-defense was overwhelmingly defeated at the recent 19th National Convention. In addition, the pro-Maoist stance of the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP) is anathema to the pro-Soviet CPUSA.

CPUSA leaders have stated that the Black Panther Party may be a vehicle to stimulate revolutionary ferment among Negro youth if the Panthers can be taught a true Marxist-Leninist approach. Leaders of the CPUSA in California have been in contact with the BPP and have assisted in the setting up of a defense committee for Panthers who have been arrested.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

SANITIZED
per 14(c)

However, CPUSA leaders admit that it is not possible to talk to Black Panthers as communists. One CPUSA member was instructed to penetrate the BPP and to try to put over the CPUSA program. He did join, but when he was exposed as a CPUSA member as a result of attempting to advance CPUSA policies, he was expelled from membership in the Panthers.

This does not mean that the CPUSA is not striving to play a more effective role in its relationship with activists of both New Left and black extremist groups. Individual party members do play a role in the demonstrations, activities, and workings of these groups. Party publications trumpet in support of all demonstrations which stir up discord in the United States whether it be economic, social, or against the war in Vietnam. But thus far, the CPUSA has not been able to take control of a single major New Left or black extremist organization. Through its own youth fronts such as the DuBois Clubs, it participates as an active partner in the peace movement and occasionally provides leadership to local campus protest movements, but its role is secondary at this time. And because of the FBI's top-level penetration of the party leadership, I am confident of our ability to keep a close watch upon its activities and to have adequate warning if it becomes increasingly successful in its effort to become the leading force behind the revolutionary protest movement in this country.

B. Influence of the Progressive Labor Party

Recent years have witnessed the formation of a myriad of extremist organizations enunciating the tenets of Communist China and Mao Tse-tung. The majority have been ineffectual paper organizations and not viable operations. However, one group, the Progressive Labor Party (PL), is making significant organizational strides in major American cities and on a number of college campuses.

The Progressive Labor Party was founded in 1962 by extremist elements of the CPUSA who were dissatisfied with CPUSA's "revisionism" and who advocated the following of the Chinese communist line in all areas of policy. It is headed by such devoted revolutionaries as Milton Rosen, one-time Labor Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, who was expelled from the CPUSA for extremist views; and William Epton, who, following his participation in the Harlem race riot of 1964, was found guilty of conspiracy to riot, conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy, and advocating criminal anarchy.

With headquarters in New York City, PL has established active branches in a number of major metropolitan areas including Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Newark, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. During recent months, it has made a concerted effort to establish PL branches throughout the United States. Spearheading this drive has been Walter Linder, National Director of the Trade Union Commission of PL and an expert on organization. PL is particularly interested in expanding its

SANITIZED per 144(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

membership on the West Coast as evidenced by the recent assignment of Levi Laub, a member of PL's National Committee, to Los Angeles for that purpose.

PL maintains close contact with pro-Chinese Communist groups abroad and its publications consistently follow the Chinese Communist line. For example, during early 1968 PL issued a pamphlet in which it proclaimed that PL is among the groups which "proudly make common cause with each other and with the Chinese for world revolution" and boasted of its support of the Viet Cong in defeat of our "common enemy, the United States ruling class."

Progressive Labor was assured by the Chinese in 1967 that it is the official Chinese Communist Party in the United States, and we have evidence that the Chinese have made substantial financial contributions to the party.

PL leaders have been in periodic contact with Chinese Communist agencies and have on occasion visited the Chinese mainland. Jacob Rosen and Frederick Jerome, members of the PL National Committee, travelled to mainland China in March of this year.

Of particular significance is PL's stepped-up efforts to extend its influence on college campuses. PL's ability to seize upon situations ripe for violence was revealed by its role with SDS during the Columbia University riots, the turmoil at San Francisco State College, and the student unrest at the University of California at Berkeley.

Progressive Labor is an important factor in the revolutionary movement in the United States not merely because it is the largest and most successful Maoist organization, but also because it is a well disciplined organization with clear objectives and the ability to achieve them. PL decided in 1965 to attempt a take-over of SDS. Its members were instructed to infiltrate local SDS chapters and seize control of them. By the time of the 1967 SDS National Convention, PL controlled enough local SDS chapters that it was able to elect one of its members ■ National Education Secretary, one of the three national administrative officers of SDS.

In December, 1968, 800 individuals attended a stormy seven-day meeting of the SDS National Council at Ann Arbor, Michigan. The meeting was dominated by a prolonged struggle, which included physical altercations, between the SDS regulars headed by Mike Klonsky (who considers himself a revolutionary communist -- small "c") and SDS members who were also members of PL.

The PL group came to the National Council meeting prepared for a power play to gain control of SDS even though national officers would not be elected at the meeting. The struggle between the PL members and the

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 11 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SDS regulars was fought over two main issues -- participation in demonstrations in Washington during the Presidential inauguration and the future composition of SDS. The fact that each of the opposing sides won one issue and lost the other is a fairly accurate measurement of their relative strength in SDS at that time.

The struggle between PL and the SDS regulars continued at a National Council meeting attended by more than 1,000 individuals held in Austin, Texas, from March 28 through 30, 1969. At this meeting, one of the major topics of discussion was the form of Marxist revolutionary activity SDS would follow.

PL, supported by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and CPUSA members of SDS, advocated a student-worker alliance, i.e., a uniting of students on campuses and workers in industry for revolutionary purposes. Following Marxist teachings, PL views the "working class" (proletariat) as the vehicle whereby the revolution will be brought about. Hence, in PL eyes, SDS should aggressively endeavor to link the campus with the industrial workers.

The CPUSA and the SWP (through its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance) also advocate the worker-student alliance. Though the three Old Left parties are in violent dispute relative to their own ideological loyalties, being respectively pro-Peking, pro-Moscow, and Trotskyite, they mutually agree on the necessity for SDS to follow the historic Marxist-Leninist concept of achieving revolution through the class struggle based on the proletariat.

The question of a worker-student alliance was not resolved at the National Council meeting, and when the National Convention of SDS convened in Chicago last month, the battle was resumed. Although the SDS regulars had ample warning of the intentions of PL, apparently they did not take the threat seriously. However, soon after the convention opened, it became obvious that for the first time PL had a majority. Confronted with the inevitability of a PL takeover, the SDS regulars walked out of the convention, keeping control of the national office, membership records and bank account -- thus maintaining effective control of the national organization.

This walkout apparently caught PL by surprise, and while they had a clear majority of delegates and elected their own slate of national officers, they found themselves in effective control of only their own faction. They had split SDS when they had planned to take it over. Only time will tell whether they achieved more than a Pyrrhic victory.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 12 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

The importance of their effort, however, lies in the example which it offers of what well organized, disciplined cadre can do within the ranks of a loosely organized, ideologically unstructured "revolutionary" organization. If the SDS regulars learned anything at all at the convention, it was that disciplined leadership is necessary to conduct a revolution as well as to prevent a palace coup.

The sophistication of the PL leadership stands in marked contrast to that of most SDS members. The PL people have no idealistic hang-ups. They are professional revolutionaries, and they go about their work in a business like manner. For example, PL was very active in the SDS disruptions at Harvard. They were in the vanguard of those who seized the Administration building, but when they realized that the police were going to move in and arrest the protestors, they quietly left the building, conveniently leaving the more naive students to be arrested and to qualify as revolutionary martyrs.

The Progressive Labor Party is a dedicated Maoist revolutionary organization which is increasingly effective. It plays a far more important role within the revolutionary protest movement than the CPUSA or any of the other Marxist-Leninist groups. It is flexible in its tactics, if not in its ideology; and although it has suffered a setback in its efforts to seize national control of SDS, the setback is likely to be only temporary. Most of the disruptive activity on the campuses is the result of the programs of local SDS chapters, and at this time PL controls about half of them, particularly on the East and West coasts. PL operates from a powerful grassroots base, and Peking should have every reason to believe that its support of the party is paying dividends.

C. Influence of the Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), founded in 1938, is a militant revolutionary group based on the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky rather than Joseph Stalin.

In addition to its avowed aim to eventually overthrow our form of government, the SWP's immediate objective is to hold together the coalition of antiwar groups prevalent in the country today. It also seeks public acceptability by running candidates for political office on local, state and national levels. SWP candidates for President and Vice President were successful in having their names placed on some 19 state ballots during the 1968 elections. They also traveled to South Vietnam where they engaged in discussions with U.S. servicemen.

The Trotskyite Fourth International (FI), self-styled as the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, is headquartered in Paris and claims to be fighting for the realization of Leon Trotsky's ideas. The SWP was forced by the limitations of the Voorhis Act of 1940 to withdraw its official affiliation with the FI; however the SWP maintains "fraternal ties" with FI and continually has "observers" in attendance at its international meetings.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NCLN 06-08/1: 13 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP youth affiliate, was originally formed in 1957 by former members of socialist and communist youth organizations. One of its primary purposes is to recruit youth into the socialist camp who ultimately will become members of the SWP. The entire National Executive Committee of the YSA is composed of individuals who are also members of the SWP. Most of the YSA chapters are located on or near college campuses.

In addition to acting as a recruiting mechanism for ultimate SWP membership, the YSA's current objective is to organize, dominate, control and perpetuate the antiwar movement in the country. The YSA, together with the SWP, credit themselves with organizing a number of massive antiwar demonstrations.

The YSA National Convention held in Chicago from November 28 to December 1, 1968, was attended by 791 registered individuals, including 405 current active members representing 29 states and 128 cities. Guests came from Canada, Mexico, France, and Germany. During the four days of the convention, the YSA recruited approximately 60 new members.

Because the YSA is a youth group consisting in the main of college students, most of its activities take place on or near college campuses. Its members have participated in many of the campus disorders which have recently swept the country. For the past several years, Peter Caejo, SWP National Committee member and former national officer of the YSA, has been the dominant leader of the campus disorders and police confrontations on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley.

After the French student uprising in the Spring of 1968, a leader of the SWP stated that for years the SWP has afforded financial and theoretical assistance and material to maintain the Trotskyist cadre in France and that this assistance was paying off.

In 1968, a leader of the SWP noted that the role of the student youth in France was a new element injected into the spring uprising in that country and that the young militants of the Trotskyite Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire played a key role in spite of its small force. He related that the role that American youth will play in the building of the American revolution must be similar.

In December of 1968, fourteen YSA and/or SWP members traveled to Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government to join in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Since returning from their one-month stay in Cuba, these individuals have participated in numerous lectures and discussions on college campuses throughout the United States supporting Fidel Castro's revolutionary views.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLX 06-08/1: 14 of 55]

SANITIZED
per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

Unlike the CPUSA and the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party does not have an ideological "motherland" abroad to which it can look for support. Although the SWP leaders are ardent admirers of Castro Cuba, the support which they receive from Havana is limited by virtue of Castro's adherence to a generally pro-Moscow line. The Trotskyites have been engaged in a major ideological quarrel with Moscow since the split between Stalin and Trotsky, and the SWP, as a Trotskyite party, does not have the active support of a single Communist country. However, it maintains close contacts with revolutionary groups throughout the world, particularly in Western Europe. It has particularly good contacts with the young revolutionary movements in France and West Germany. Although not subject to control by a foreign power or likely to receive substantial support from a Communist government, it is nevertheless a dedicated and effective revolutionary communist organization that occupies a central role in the nation-wide antiwar protest movement.

SANITIZED
per 1.4(c)~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/; 15 of 55]

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

II. COMMUNIST BLOC INFLUENCE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT

* * * * *

A. Soviet Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement.

Soviet attitudes toward the revolutionary protest movement in this country in the future will probably be guided by the June 17, 1969, declaration of the conference of Communist parties which sets forth the U.S. as the main enemy, and views favorably the opposition of radical U.S. youth and students to the Vietnam war, the draft, racism, and "monopoly control of the universities." The declaration expresses strong support for "the struggle of the Negro population of the U.S. for their rights," and urges Communist parties to devote considerable attention to work among students.

Until the fall of 1968 when the Soviets tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movement, Soviet propaganda sought to explain all U.S. protest and unrest in classical Communist terms, and avoided giving publicity to extremist groups. The Soviets were noticeably concerned over the threat of contagion from undisciplined Western youth movements and over the disruptive impact of such groups on orthodox Communist parties.

Hitherto, the Soviets have had a shifting and ambivalent attitude toward all student protest activities in the West, including the United States.

On the one hand, commentators have applauded student protest activity as proof of the weaknesses and contradictions of capitalist society and as a natural prelude to the general revolution which will destroy that society. On the other hand, they have decried the youths' disregard of Soviet interests and direction and have warned that the youth will be really effective only when they submit to the discipline of the workers' movement and the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet discussion of foreign youth tends to lump United States and Western European youth together as motivated by similar concerns and influenced by similar ideologies. Thus, the philosopher Herbert Marcuse, conveniently of German birth and American residence, is seen as the spiritual father of the New Left in both the U.S. and Western Europe.

The student role in large-scale disturbances in Europe in early 1968, especially in the events of May in Paris, forced the issue in Moscow of what policy to adopt toward the movement beyond the general sympathy that had always been expressed on the subject of the alienation of youth in

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN106-08/1: 16 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

the West. The response came in the form of an article in Pravda in May 1968 by commentator Yury Zhukov; who gave a detailed critique of Marcuse's theories and castigated his young followers, including Cohn-Bendit, as "werewolves." Foreign policy considerations, especially the interest of the French Communist party, seem to have largely determined this negative reaction.

Soviet officials, however, were clearly surprised and troubled by the effectiveness of the student revolt and the prospect it would usurp the revolutionary role in the West from the Communist parties. The Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A.M. Rumyantsev, admitted in September 1968 that "the latest events in France ... proved to be a surprise in many ways for the Soviet scientific workers." A professor wrote in the Soviet press in November 1968 that "many Communist parties admit they underestimated the potentialities of the student movement."

Since the fall of 1968, press articles have tried to formulate a more positive approach to the youth movements of the West. They developed many of the themes expressed by the physicist Petr Kapitsa to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences in February 1969 and by Brezhnev in June 1969. While still condemning Marcuse's theories and the anarchistic elements of the students' activities, commentators have seen the "ideological fog in students' heads" as natural and understandable. More important in the commentator's eyes was youth's rejection of capitalist society. Like Kapitsa and Brezhnev, they found that ideological and spiritual disaffection were more important causes of student protest than material conditions. The commentators still maintained, however, that the potential of the young activists could only be realized when they accepted the guidance of the workers' movement and Marxist-Leninist teachings, thereby implying the current independence of the students from Soviet influence.

A Radio Moscow broadcast beamed to Yugoslavia on June 23, 1969 assailed Marcuse and his concept that youth, not the workers, are the motive force of revolution. In a rare Soviet mention of the SDS, it noted that "some" members of this organization have expressed dissatisfaction with Marcuse's view and favor an alliance with the working class -- "a more mighty revolutionary force in capitalist society."

Kapitsa's departure from other writers on the subject is his explicit criticism of Soviet ideologists for their isolation from foreign revolutionary movements and the suggestion that they could fall behind progressive thought in the West. Here Kapitsa is expressing the fears of liberals in the Soviet Union that the dogmatic stance of the present regime is isolating their country from progressive movements in the rest of the world. A similar spirit marks the essay by Kapitsa's fellow physicist Andrey Sakharov, which appeared in the West in July 1968.

The difficulty for the regime is that the attempt to reconcile the student movement in the U.S. and Soviet ideology may lead to modification

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 170455]

SANITIZED per 1.4 (c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

of the latter. An example is found in the February 1969 issue of the Soviet journal, World Economy and International Relations, which takes the most positive approach yet to youthful revolutionaries in the West. While it speaks of the necessity of their joining ranks with the workers' movement, it notes that the spiritual issues the students are raising are drawing the workers away from their narrow economic concern and are helping to create the "socio-psychological prerequisites" for the revolutionary struggle. This attribution of an almost leading role to the students remains an isolated one, however, and Brezhnev's pronouncement stands as the official analysis.

Leonid Brezhnev's speech to the international Communist conference on June 7, 1969, offers an authoritative statement on the subject. The rising generation in the capitalist countries is in "revolutionary ferment," Brezhnev declared in explaining the "considerable attention" Communist parties are now devoting to work with the young people. He saw the young aroused by opposition to "imperialist wars," and "the militarization of bourgeois society." The negative aspects of the activities of the young, according to Brezhnev, are their spontaneity and "immature forms" and at times their exploitation by anti-Communist elements and "imperialist agents." Nevertheless, he predicted that the young activists, once they have mastered the theory of scientific socialism and gained more experience, "will do great things."

The mere fact that Brezhnev felt compelled to address himself to the subject of student protest in the West indicates the importance currently assigned by the Soviet leadership to exploiting student unrest in the United States and Europe. While Brezhnev's speech did not represent a substantial liberalization of Soviet ideological approach to the revolutionary student movement in the West, it did mark a significant step in that direction. The Soviets now concede the revolutionary potential inherent in the student movement and are searching for ways to exploit it. Moscow showed some signs of a new flexibility which will certainly be reflected in the approach of the CPUSA, and it is possible that after further consideration more effort will be made by the Soviets to devise an acceptable approach to the young revolutionaries which will enable the Communist party to play the leading role it so obviously seeks.

B. Role of Soviet Bloc Intelligence.

Undoubtedly, as the number one target of Communist intelligence agencies throughout the world, the United States is faced with the reality of skilled Communist agents acting against the interests of our nation. For years the Communist bloc of nations have had diplomatic, official and quasi-official representatives stationed in their establishments in this country.

Currently these establishments exist in New York City, Washington, Pittsburgh, and Chicago with a total complement of over 1,000 Communist

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 18 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

nationals and about 1,400 dependents. FBI investigations have disclosed there are over 350 known or highly suspected intelligence officers or agents among them, of whom about 220 are Soviet nationals.

In addition to this open or "legal" channel of intelligence operations, the Communist bloc nations utilize highly clandestine "illegal" networks which have no observable contact with the Communist official establishments. The members of these networks who are sent here from abroad with fraudulent documents and fictitious cover stories perform intelligence collection tasks as do the Communist intelligence agents operating under diplomatic or official cover.

A new component of the Chief, Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet General Staff (GRU) was formed in 1968 to oversee the collection of information on insurgent and dissident groups worldwide. Although this represents a significant upgrading of GRU interest in such activity, CIA believes that there is no evidence of any such GRU efforts targeted at the United States. This GRU component is believed to concentrate instead on the less developed areas of the world. Information available on the operations of the Soviet Committee on State Security (KGB), although not complete, shows no involvement with U.S. revolutionary protest organizations.

The FBI also believes that in spite of the extensive efforts of Communist bloc intelligence operations to penetrate and subvert the United States, there is little evidence that these intelligence-gathering services are acting as channels for Communist support of the revolutionary protest movement.

C. Chinese Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement.

Through the broadcasts of Radio Peking in English and the distribution in the United States of the Peking Review and other English-language publications, Communist China has provided a measure of propaganda support and ideological guidance to U.S. radical movements. Peking does not, however, specifically tailor this propaganda for a U.S. audience -- it is part of a monolithic effort targeted at audiences world-wide. The propaganda is couched in doctrinaire terms, concerned generally with students, youth, and black radicals. Attention to anti-Vietnam war activities, as to all aspects of the war, is slight. The ideological guidance, for those disposed to pay heed, is made available through the publication and rebroadcasting in English of Mao's "works," and through the innumerable rehashes of his "thought."

Peking's exploitation of American student unrest, however, indicates that the Chinese view the subject as a target of opportunity through which they can discredit the U.S. image world-wide. Their propaganda portrays

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 19 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

student activities as an example of the "unending troubles which have brought the U.S. to the verge of collapse" and "progressive forces struggling against the capitalist system." Lin Piao has stated that, "We firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth and masses of the Black People of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique."

Chinese Communist propaganda seldom refers to individual U.S. groups, the single notable exception being the Progressive Labor Party, several articles and statements of which have been publicized by NCNA this year. Apart from the general objective of simply blackening the U.S., the fact that some of these students are self-styled "Maoists" probably increases Peking's incentive to lend verbal support to such "progressive elements."

Particular attention has been paid to the militant Black movement. In a very widely publicized statement on April 16, 1968, "in support of the Afro-American struggle against violence," Mao Tse-tung declared that the assassination of Dr. King, "an exponent of nonviolence," has taught the U.S. Blacks "a profound lesson." The nature of the "lesson" was not spelled out by Mao, but lesser, routine Chinese commentators expounded the view that Dr. King's death established the bankruptcy of his philosophy of nonviolence and showed the Black masses and all "American revolutionary people" that they must meet "counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence."

During the U.S. civil disorders in the summer of 1967, a series of People's Daily articles had applauded statements by militant Black spokesmen and branded Dr. King a "reactionary lackey" who preaches "the humbug of nonviolence." People's Daily predicted that the "Afro-American masses" together with "oppressed strata" of the white population will isolate and besiege the "handful of reactionaries who rule the country."

The April 1968 statement by Mao, along with his previous formal statement on U.S. racial discrimination on August 8, 1963, constitute the core of Peking's propaganda on the "Afro-American struggle." The anniversaries of their issuance are observed through renewed publicity for the original statements, coupled with elucidations and updating of the textual content. The anniversary propaganda since 1965 has stressed the thesis that the Afro-Americans' "main form of struggle" currently is "armed struggle against police violence." At the same time, Peking has expressed its aversion to separatist trends, repeatedly stressing a community of interest between Black and White workers in opposition to the capitalist system.

It is easy to see from the stated ideological position of the Chinese why revolutionary youth organizations in this country, Black and White alike, find it so easy to identify with Chinese Communism. The

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLTN 06-08/1; 20 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

Chinese are ideologically flexible on the questions of immediate concern to the youthful revolutionaries; in this country, and the Chinese attitude toward the role of the students is clearly more sympathetic than that expressed by the Soviets.

For several years, the NCNA has been forwarding large quantities of anti-United States propaganda material to Negro publications and pro-Chinese Communist groups in the United States. Information was received in May, 1968, which disclosed that the NCNA had commenced circulating photographs in this country depicting racial riots, arsonist activity, and other civil disorders participated in by the American Negro.

The FBI received information on May 3, 1968, revealing that a news release had been sent from China Features in Peking to the Black Organization of Students at Rutgers University in Newark. The news release contained a statement by Mao Tse-tung in which mention was made of support of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression.

The Black Panthers make widespread use of the "Red Book" (The Quotations of Mao Tse-tung) in instructing its members, with sections of it being incorporated into the Panther's "Political Education Kit."

Chinese Communist propaganda is widely circulated in New Left and Black Power circles and the "thoughts" of Mao Tse-tung constitute the heart of the revolutionary ideology of many of these groups. Chinese influence in the revolutionary protest movement in the United States is direct and significant; the Chinese are well ahead of the Soviets in this regard.

D. Role of the Chinese Intelligence Service

Communist China, while having no diplomatic or official establishments in the United States, is posing an intelligence threat constantly through individuals residing in or visiting this country. Various residents or citizens of our nation who have Chinese origins or backgrounds have come to occupy prominent or significant positions in the fields of science, education, industry, defense and government. Some of these individuals in the past have acted in a manner hostile to our national interests, apparently motivated by fear or sympathy with the Communist regime on mainland China. However, we have no evidence of Chinese intelligence operations directed toward the revolutionary protest movement in the United States.

E. Other Chinese Communist Support Activities

In 1966, the Black militant Robert Franklin Williams moved to Peking from Havana where he had been granted asylum in 1961 and had been helped in setting up "Radio Free Dixie." Williams has been supported in Peking

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1 : 21 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

by the Mao regime and has been aided in the production of a Black militant periodical, The Crusader. The latter is distributed by mail to recipients in a number of countries including the U.S. The May 1968 issue of The Crusader was distributed together with a special booklet prepared in Communist China a few days after the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968. The booklet refers to the killing of King, cites the Black struggle in the U.S. as part of the world struggle against the "Yankee imperialists," and urges all people to unite and eliminate the U.S. capitalist system. The early printing of the booklet showed a fast reaction capability by the Peking regime. The booklet was prepared in English and Spanish. The Spanish copies were distributed in Latin America via the Peoples Party in Panama.

Williams, who is the head of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), a Black militant American organization, visited Tanzania, the Government of which is friendly with Peking, from June to September 1968 and again in May 1969.

In June, 1968, three RNA leaders, including Milton Henry and his brother, Richard, visited Africa to determine what kind of assistance RNA could obtain from Tanzania and what type of assistance they could render Tanzania in return. Prior to their visit it was believed that hundreds of acres had been set aside in Tanzania for the RNA to set up a commune and that Red China had land-clearing equipment and farm machinery to be utilized on this property.

After their visit they indicated that the President of Tanzania would make some agreements with Williams concerning commitments and foreign aid to the RNA; however, these commitments would not be made public. The Henrys stated that as a contribution and to show good faith, RNA would obtain medicine and books and send them to Tanzania. In addition, the RNA would assist in organizing the United Liberation Front in Africa which would attempt to unite all black African nations.

Richard Henry has indicated that he wants to send Negro militants to Tanzania to establish a cadre for the proposed RNA commune. The purpose of this cadre will be to begin training blacks of the African continent in guerrilla warfare.

In October of 1968 a group of American Negroes were in Dar es Salaam where they were allegedly recruiting an army to eventually fight against the United States and take over RNA's rightful title to portions of the U.S. These troops allegedly would be equipped with Chinese weapons. Richard Henry and Williams are actively recruiting for this army, and 17 American Negroes are reportedly now active in the affairs of RNA in Tanzania.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 2A of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

In September, 1968, Richard Henry discussed the negotiations to establish a Chinese Consulate in Quebec. If it is established, Henry stated, RNA will be able to legally purchase equipment through the consulate. Milton Henry, speaking before the National Black Economic Conference in Detroit in April of this year stated that the black nation of RNA means developing relations with friendly powers, namely, Red China and Cuba.

Another pro-Chinese American organization with strong ties with Peking is the Revolutionary Union (RU) which was formed in the San Francisco area in early 1968 and, after operating for over a year in an underground fashion, partially surfaced in April, 1969.

One of the two founders of the RU is Leibel Bergman, a long-time Communist who turned first against the CPUSA and then dropped out of his leadership role in the Progressive Labor Party. In 1965, Bergman clandestinely travelled to Communist China where he resided for approximately two years utilizing a pseudonym.

Shortly after his return to the U.S. in August, 1967, Bergman advised reliable sources of the FBI that he had returned "to do a job" for the Chinese Communists. He outlines a three-fold mission: (1) to form a national coalition of domestic Marxist-Leninists sympathetic to Mao Tse-tung thought and the Communist Party of China; (2) to develop and forward information of interest to the Chinese Communists; and (3) to recruit politically trusted youth who would travel to Communist China for an indeterminate period of cadre training after which they would return to this country and operate in behalf of Communist China in a nonpublic or submerged fashion. There is a strong presumption these latter individuals would be utilized as recruited intelligence agents operating in behalf of China.

In late 1967, Bergman indicated a desire to obtain intelligence relating to the Soviet Union which he would forward to China. He provided funds for this intelligence-gathering effort and also to support the operations of a domestic pro-Communist China organization. He claimed to have a secret line of communication with Communist China. After conducting diversionary travel to Los Angeles, Bergman flew to London in early 1969 and while there contacted the Communist Chinese diplomatic establishment on two occasions. Thereafter, he flew to Paris and contacted the Chinese Embassy in Paris on two occasions. While in Paris, he dispatched a letter to an address in China. Significantly, the letter was directed to the name he used as a pseudonym while residing in China. He has stated he is able to communicate with the Chinese, but he is unable to receive adequate responses. Monitoring of his activities also indicates he is suffering from a lack of funds, which may cast some doubts upon the degree of active support he is currently receiving from the Chinese.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 63 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

Although we do not have definite evidence of the degree of support Red China is providing either the Republic of New Africa or the Revolutionary Union, we do have enough evidence to suggest that the leadership of these two organizations claim support and hold out to their followers the hope of substantial support in the future.

F. Cuban Ideological Attitude toward the U.S. Protest Movement.

Cuban media have from time to time publicized statements and articles by members of the Black Panthers, SDS, and such organizations as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), although there has been a marked abatement of such propaganda in the past six months because of preoccupation with domestic issues. While emphasizing the theme of anti-war sentiment among the American people and in Congress, Havana does not as a rule discuss the role of specific groups or movements in opposition to the war.

Cuban radio broadcasts avoid detailed accounts of student activities, but emphasize that manifestations of discontent and rebellion by U.S. youths are symptomatic of the "sickness" of U.S. life and institutions. Havana publishes various propaganda materials aimed at influencing U.S. and other youths. The emphasis is on Vietnam, Che Guevara and his idyllic quest for revolutionary endeavors, and is generally aimed at undermining U.S. foreign policy.

In the only available commentary which has broached the question of Cuban influence over U.S. radical movements in recent months, on April 2, 1969, Radio Havana set out to rebut a statement by Congressman Henry Gonzalez to the effect that the Mexican-American community had been infiltrated by California youth of Mexican ancestry who had traveled to Cuba on trips subsidized by the Havana regime. The commentator charged that the Congressman was trying to make Cuba the scapegoat for "problems rooted in the expansionist policy of the United States during the 19th Century and in the present living conditions of Mexican-Americans, Latin Americans, and Negroes." The commentator argued that U.S. young people do not have to leave their country to learn violent tactics, since "violence is a characteristic of North American society," but concluded fatuously that Cuba was "honored" by the accusation that it is "an example and stimulus to those fighting the injustices of the imperialist system of exploitation." The commentator added the "Cuba offers her own example and stretches her friendly and firm hand to those fighting for a better tomorrow."

In past comment eulogizing Che Guevara, the ubiquitous influence of his "example" has been emphasized in general terms. Last October, marking the first anniversary of Guevara's death, Havana media cited his impact

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NL106-08/ : 24 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c) and 3.3(b)(1)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

as a "political catalyst" in much of the world, specifically including the United States, and boasted that "never in history have the revolutionary concepts of a leader of oppressed peoples spread so widely and so rapidly."

Statements by spokesmen for the Black Panthers and SNCC carried in Havana media have lauded Che Guevara and his teachings. Thus Prensa Latina (the official Cuban news agency) on February 15, 1969, reported an interview with two Black Panther leaders which appeared in Tricontinental, organ of the Havana-based Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AALAPSO), in which they acknowledged the inspirational influence of the Cuban revolution and stated: "We are happy to see that oppressed peoples are following the brave example of Che Guevara to create one, two, three, many Vietnams, and we will work together for the destruction of imperialism." In October 1968, Radio Havana reported that a SNCC official visiting Havana had said Guevara's teachings were deeply rooted among Black Americans. He was also quoted as predicting that guerrilla warfare would "increasingly become the method of common struggle" both in the United States and in "liberation struggles" worldwide.

Emphasis on SNCC, and particularly its leader Stokely Carmichael, shifted during the past year to the Black Panthers. In a Havana press conference in August 1968, a Black Panther leader was quoted in the Cuban media as alleging that the direction the struggle was taking in the United States is that of resistance through guerrilla warfare.

While Havana media gave extensive coverage to Carmichael's visit to Havana in the summer of 1967 to attend the Latin American Solidarity Organization conference, he has received scant mention for more than a year. Carmichael was interviewed by telephone by Radio Havana in April 1968 after the assassination of Martin Luther King and was quoted as forecasting that "urban guerrilla warfare" would develop in U.S. cities; with Dr. King's passing, he said, "there is no Black man who will ask Black people not to burn down cities."

Since Havana's "Radio Free Dixie" broadcasts to the United States featuring U.S. Negro expatriate Robert Williams went off the air in March 1966 (Williams migrated to Peking), Havana has not addressed inflammatory appeals for violence directly to U.S. Negroes. But Cuban comment has on occasion continued to argue that violence may be the sole method for the U.S. Negro to better his lot. Thus, after the slaying of Dr. King, Havana stressed that with the murder "imperialism has buried its last hope for a nonviolent solution to its racial problems."

Although adhering to a generally pro-Moscow line, Cuba has adopted a much more flexible ideological position toward the revolutionary activity of New Left and Black Power groups. By virtue of its geographical proximity, Cuba is able to exert more influence and provide greater support to the American revolutionary protest movement than either China or, if it wished, the Soviet Union. And the fact that Castro began his revolutionary

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NN 06-08/1: 25 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

career as a student has increased his appeal to student revolutionaries in this country. Moreover, the exploits of Che Guevara, which have been widely heralded by the Cuban government, provide a "revolutionary example" for activists in this country.

G. Role of the Cuban Intelligence Service.

Export of the Cuban revolution is the fundamental principle of Cuba's foreign policy. The FBI has determined that in the United States such policy is manifested by clandestine support of Puerto Rican independence groups and the fomenting of racial strife and student disorders.

In September, 1967, two officers of the Cuban Intelligence Service (CIS) assigned to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN) told a representative of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) in New York City that Cuba was prepared to offer Puerto Rican independentists weapons and material. In April 1968, a CIS officer at the CMUN delivered to a representative of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPIPR) a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. The message expressed the Central Committee's solidarity with and support of the MPIPR in the latter's struggle for independence. Cuban support has included guerrilla training for some leaders of current violence in Puerto Rico.

An FBI investigation of Jesus Jimenez Escobar is an illustration of Cuban efforts to foment racial strife and student disorders in the United States. Jimenez arrived in this country in August 1967 to assume duties as a First Secretary at the CMUN. He left the U.S. on February 20, 1969, at the State Department's request based upon the results of the FBI investigation of his activities. At the time of his departure, he held the rank of Counselor, second in order of diplomatic precedence at the CMUN.

The FBI investigation determined that Jimenez was a principal link between the Cuban Government and leaders of black extremist and New Left student groups in the United States. He gave advice and counsel to such leaders as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, then affiliated with SNCC; furnished Cuban propaganda materials to them; and arranged visits to Cuba for unknown purposes for many revolutionary youth leaders.

During early May 1968, while in Washington D.C., ostensibly as a representative of the Cuban Government to the Pan American Health Organization, Jimenez instructed Stokely Carmichael to "continue to follow Plan A-5." Carmichael was then agitating in Washington, following the serious racial disorders here of the preceding month. The significance of Jimenez' instructions to Carmichael is unknown; however, an SDS plan of similar terminology resulted in an undisciplined mass protest and violence at Columbia University during April 1968.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 26 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

The intelligence functions of Jimenez at the CMUN appear to have been taken over by Alberto Boza Hidalgo-Gato, lower in diplomatic rank, but superior to Jimenez in the CIS hierarchy (deputy head of CIS activities at the CMUN).

Boza arrived in the United States on September 6, 1968. The FBI investigation of him has determined that he acts as a clearing agent for American citizens of various backgrounds who travel to Cuba, associates with individuals who are affiliated with black extremist and New Left groups, and has been operationally associated in New York City with Soviet intelligence personnel. He acted as interpreter for Stokely Carmichael during a visit of the latter to Cuba in 1967.

Cuban intelligence personnel are quite active in the revolutionary protest movement in this country. James Forman, International Director of SNCC, is known to have had contacts with CIS agents, as have other prominent U.S. revolutionary leaders. We have successfully penetrated the Cuban Intelligence Service operations in this country, so we are capable of keeping a close watch on CIS activities.

H. Other Cuban Support Activities.

In the fall of 1967, [REDACTED] training schools for Negroes were being conducted by the Castro Government to prepare them for subversive operations in the United States.

The identity of these sources was provided to the FBI which subsequently located and exhaustively interviewed them. They appeared sincerely interested in assisting the U.S. Government by bringing to its attention information concerning the training school, and two of the [REDACTED] had actually been in the vicinity of Santiago de Cuba, where the training school allegedly was located. The third [REDACTED] source recounted information imparted to her in Cuba and did not know how the information was originally obtained.

When questioned closely, none were able to furnish data which would substantiate the rumor that Negroes were being trained at the school for subversive operations against this country.

Although unable to confirm the existence of the school, the FBI nevertheless took extensive measures to guard against the infiltration of Cuban-trained Negro agents. All local FBI offices briefed selected local officials as to the problems posed by the use of minority groups in carrying out sabotage on behalf of Cuba; key industrial plant officials were alerted to be on the lookout for groups or individuals within their organizations who were potential tools for use by Castro in subverting this country; and special questioning of logical Cuban refugees entering the U.S. was instituted to determine if any confirmation could be obtained

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 27 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c) and 3.3(b)(1)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

concerning the existence of Cuban training centers for Negroes designed to equip them to carry out sabotage, espionage, or guerrilla warfare in the U.S. or its territories. To date, the FBI has received no indication that Cuban-trained Negroes have entered this country for such purposes. However, the Bureau believes this is a distinct possibility and is alert to developing information in this regard.

Since July 1967 the Bureau has received voluminous information regarding political indoctrination, instructions, and financial assistance being given by the Cubans to the black extremist movement in the United States. Through its worldwide intelligence network, the Cubans continue to attempt to influence and exploit the revolutionary protest movement in this country.

A group known as the Friends of SNCC is active in Paris. This group has been engaged in raising funds and is attached to the International office of SNCC in New York City. Reportedly one of the links between Friends of SNCC in Paris and revolutionary movements in France is an employee in Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency. On January 28, 1968, a meeting was held in the Residence of the Cuban Embassy

The CIA regards the meeting as "an informal discussion" which did not "necessarily reflect Cuban policy," but when considered in light of all the evidence we have of Cuban interest in, and support of, the revolutionary protest movement in this country, I would attach a little more significance to it.

In the Spring of 1969, Virginia Collins, Vice President of the RNA for the Southern Region, visited Cuba. She attended a rally which was addressed by Fidel Castro and following the rally met with him. In the conversation, he expressed a willingness to support the black people in their revolution in the United States and presented her with literature which he stated concerned the Cuban revolution and which would be applicable to the black man's struggle in the United States. He promised to send her revolutionary literature in the near future which would be of assistance.

In December 1968, two leaders of SNCC departed from the United States for Cuba, allegedly to attend a Cultural Congress. When they returned to the United States, they were intercepted at the Canadian border by Customs and Immigration officials. They had in their possession a large quantity of North Korean, Soviet, and Cuban propaganda and souvenirs. Included in their personal effects were a five-band

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 28 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c) and 3.3(b)(1)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

portable radio of Soviet manufacture, adaptable for receiving intelligence communications, and a revealing notebook and diary.

Analysis of the notes and diary indicates that the two black revolutionaries were on a "mission" on behalf of SNCC and this mission had been well planned in advance.

Their effects also indicated they were placed in contact with the North Koreans in Havana by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba; on February 24, 1969, they flew from Moscow for Korea under the cover of pseudonyms; in March 1969 in North Korea they received detailed training in revolutionary theory and political and military intelligence; and they spent considerable time in the Soviet Union and Cuba prior to their return to the United States.

Among their notes were instructions for organizing a committee which would propagandize for the withdrawal of allied forces from Korea and seek the support of the New Left and domestic black nationalist movements, as well as domestic Koreans, to discredit the United States position in Korea. It was indicated this proposed committee would be supported by the North Koreans through contacts in Cuba.

Additionally, it was indicated that the two Negroes had received training in a likely assignment to accumulate intelligence on behalf of the North Koreans relating to "latest plans, newest weapons, blueprints, actual weapons, if possible." According to the notes, these would be secretly transmitted to the North Koreans through the Soviet Union, the Tanzanian Embassy, Cuban consultates in Mexico or France, or the Korean Embassy in Prague. One of the individuals described the assignment as "We will be their (North Koreans) eyes and ears as we wage armed struggle."

On August 19, 1968, George Mason Murray, Minister of Education in the Black Panther Party, and Joudan Ford, then the Panther leader in New York City, arrived in Havana. Assistance for their trip was rendered by an official of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

Following his return to the United States, Murray talked of his trip during a Panther rally in Oakland, California, on September 5, 1968. He indicated that on their arrival in Havana they were met by representatives of the Communist Party of Cuba and revolutionary guerrilla organizations from Asia and Africa. In a subsequent speech on December 23, 1968, Murray stated that during his trip to Cuba he had been personally assured by Fidel Castro that the Cuban Government would give all-out support to Negroes in the United States.

I believe that the evidence is virtually overwhelming that Cuba is playing a major role in the fomenting of domestic disorder in the United States. Not only does the Cuban Government promote its own

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

CNLN 06-08/1 : 29 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

interests by this activity, but it offers a point of contact for the leaders of U.S. revolutionary organizations with representatives of the Communist governments of the Soviet Union, North Korea, and North Vietnam, as well as leaders of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and other revolutionary Communist leaders from the "Third World."

Although we have substantially good coverage of Cuban activities in this country and can monitor contacts between the Cuban Intelligence Service and U.S. revolutionary leaders which take place within the United States [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c) and 3.3(b)(1)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 30 of 55]

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

III. COMMUNIST FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF U.S. REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

* * * * *

The intelligence community has very little hard evidence to support the thesis that foreign Communists are providing financial support to American revolutionary organizations. In fact, there is a scarcity of information about the entire question of where these organizations get the money to finance their activities.

The community believes that they are able to finance their activities from contributions, dues, sales of literature, benefits, and advertisements. There is good reason, in my opinion, to believe that this is true in the case of SDS. I am less convinced that it is true of other revolutionary organizations.

There is some evidence to indicate that the Progressive Labor Party (PL), is receiving financial support from Communist China and perhaps from Cuba. And there is also good reason to believe that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has at least on occasion received financial support from Cuba. The sources of Black Panther funds are largely unknown, although there is some evidence suggesting that the organization has resorted to extortion and bank robberies to finance its activities.

There is no evidence that the Soviet Union has contributed funds to any New Left or Black Power organization.

I have been able to ascertain only two cases where the intelligence community has "hard evidence" of foreign financial support of revolutionary organizations in this country.

(1) During 1967 and 1968, the Progressive Labor Party received a total of more than \$13,000 from a European Bank where an organ of the Chinese Communist Government maintains an account. During 1968, the PLP received more than \$2,000 from Hong Kong.

(2) James Forman, International Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was informed on December 27, 1967, that the Cuban United Nations Mission was holding money for his organization and arrangements were made on that date for him to visit a Cuban intelligence agent. On January 18, 1968, Forman and an unidentified Negro were observed entering the Mission empty-handed. A few minutes later each departed the Mission carrying a package wrapped in plain brown paper.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 31 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

On June 24, I met with Phillip Abbott Luce, a former high-ranking member of the Progressive Labor Party. In 1963 and 1964, he helped organize PLP-sponsored student tours to Cuba in violation of the then-existing State Department ban on travel to that country.

Luce told me that he personally arranged for money to be picked up from the Cuban Mission to the United Nations to finance the tour in the summer of 1963. He also indicated that when the PL students returned from Cuba in 1963 and again in 1964, the Cubans gave them a substantial amount of money to bring back into the country. As he recalls, the amount was \$10,000 in each instance.

I am generally satisfied that the intelligence community does not have any hard evidence confirming substantial foreign financial support of the revolutionary protest movement. However, I believe that it is quite likely that more foreign funding has occurred than the intelligence community is aware of. Luce's conversation confirms this in my opinion (it is interesting that no member of the intelligence community reported to me the substance of Luce's revelations, although he was debriefed by the Bureau when he left the PLP in 1965.)

The absence of hard evidence is due, I believe, to two factors. First, the political sensitivity of surveillance of domestic political organizations is so great the intelligence community has been reluctant to conduct a vigorous collection effort; this is particularly true of NSA, DIA, and CIA. And, second, I suspect that many members of the intelligence community have satisfied themselves that there is no reason for outside funding and have therefore made only a limited effort to determine if, in fact, there is any outside funding.

The largest and most successful revolutionary organization is the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). There are many good reasons to believe that this group has not received nor sought financial support from foreign Communists. It is not difficult for a broadly based ideological organization to raise \$84,000 a year, which is the estimated SDS national budget, and we have reason to believe that several prominent American leftists have contributed large amounts to the organization in the past several years (two individuals are reported to have contributed \$40,000 each.) Reliable evidence indicates that SDS is capable of raising substantial funds through contributions from its members and from the sale of its literature. In terms of immediate financial requirements, the organization appears to be self-supporting.

There are several other reasons why I doubt that SDS has been funded by foreign Communists. First, SDS leaders tend to be suspicious of organized Communism, and although most of them are great admirers of Mao and Castro, I doubt if they would seek financial support from the Chinese or Cuban governments for fear that strings would be attached which

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 32 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

would compromise their independent approach to revolution. Second, and more important, I am dubious that foreign Communists would regard the funding of SDS as a good investment. American dollars are scarce resources which Cuba and Red China would spend only for the most compelling reasons and where the benefits were likely to be significant and obvious. If SDS is capable of financing through its own efforts a successful revolutionary program, there would appear to be little reason for either Cuba or Red China to offer financial support. And, finally, I believe that foreign Communists would be leary of financing SDS because of the uncertainty which doctrinaire Communists must feel toward the anarchistic tendencies of the organization and its leadership. Were disciplined Communists to take over the organization (as the PL people very nearly did at the SDS national convention in Chicago last month), an incentive might exist. However, so long as the "Crazies" (those who profess loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but who reject disciplined party control, e.g., Mark Rudd, the SDS leader at Columbia) effectively control the national office of SDS, I think any substantial foreign Communist financial investment would be of minimal value to either Cuba or Red China, and I suspect they would share this opinion.

The likelihood or advisability of foreign Communist financial support of the other revolutionary organizations is less clear. The FBI has reason to believe that there may be more than minimal support being rendered, but it has not been able to turn up hard evidence to support its suspicion. Part of the problem, I believe, is the failure of CIA to devote its resources abroad to this problem and the lack of careful coordination within the intelligence community to insure that all potentially available information is being collected and analyzed. This problem is discussed in detail elsewhere in this report.

As previously indicated, we do have some evidence that SNCC and PL have received financial support from Cuba and/or Red China. And although we don't presently have any evidence to confirm it, I believe that it is very possible that the Black Panthers are receiving some financial support from foreign Communists.

Virtually all the logical reasons which can be mustered to support the argument that SDS is not receiving foreign Communist support are absent in the cases of PL, SNCC, and the Black Panthers. The latter groups do not appear to have sufficient support within the wealthy liberal community to raise substantial funds at home and their membership is not large enough or affluent enough to contribute substantial amounts through dues or contributions to meet budgetary requirements. More importantly, these groups tend to be more disciplined and more susceptible to foreign Communist control and influence.

The Progressive Labor Party was officially recognized by Peking in 1967 as the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the United States. It has made a point for several years of claiming to be the official

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN/06-08/1 : 33 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

Chinese Communist Party in the United States, and Luce told me that while he was in the Party, one high ranking official claimed that the Party was receiving financial support from the Chinese. In the last year, however, there has been a serious ideological quarrel between PL and the Black Panthers over which group is really the "official" Chinese Communist Party in this country, with both claiming the support of Peking. We do not know precisely how Peking presently views the two contenders for its favor, but it is possible that both organizations serve its purpose, and the Chinese may fund and support them accordingly.

The evidence indicates that the Cubans have also looked with favor on PL, but there is some reason to believe that in the past two years the relations between the two have become less cordial. Castro appears to be keenly interested in the black revolutionary groups in this country and may believe that they represent the best hope for a successful revolutionary struggle in the United States.

Delegations of SDS leaders have made frequent trips to Cuba, but it appears that their principal interest has been to meet with representatives of Hanoi and the NLF stationed in Havana. We have no reports of SDS leaders returning from Havana with promises of financial support from Castro. The Cubans apparently wish to keep the lines of communication open to all groups which are sympathetic and the number of visits to the Island have increased substantially over the last 18 months. On June 10, 1969, a group of 20 New Left members visited Cuba and available information indicates that all expenses over and above transportation were borne by the Cuban Government. Another trip for a similar group is planned for this month.

When Stokely Carmichael visited Havana for the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference in July of 1967, he was treated as a hero by the Castro government. However, as is typically true of Stokely, he broke with Castro over the question of the class struggle and he is no longer held in high esteem by official Cuban Communist circles.

However, the Cubans have continued to look with interest on the development of a revolutionary black movement in the United States, and it appears that Castro has hoped to find within SNCC and the Black Panthers the type of disciplined leadership that can successfully wage revolution along traditional Marxist-Leninist lines.

We have a report that Virginia Collins, a leader of the Republic of New Africa, visited Havana this Spring and met with Castro. Reportedly he told her that he was unhappy with the dissension among black extremist organizations in Los Angeles, but added that when the black people in the United States move forward in their revolution, they will receive assistance from Cuba.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 34 & 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

In September of 1968, Irving Davis, a SNCC leader in New York City, traveled to Cuba where representatives of the Cuban Government allegedly told him that Cuba was ready to assist SNCC with financial and other means of support in its struggle in the United States. However, before aid was to be given, SNCC was to give concrete evidence of revolutionary activity in the next six months.

Recent developments involving the Black Panthers have cast an interesting light on the relations between that organization and Castro. On June 25, 1969, Raymond Johnson, who claimed to be a lieutenant in the Black Panthers and who is living in Havana, complained to the press that he and other Panthers have been "isolated and imprisoned" and want to leave the country. He said the "the Panthers have not been received in a revolutionary fashion; we have been condemned to live in Cuba." He also added that he thought there was racial discrimination in Cuba.

Two days later, Bobby Seale, the national Chairman of the Panthers, told a press conference in San Francisco that Johnson was "nothing but an agent for the fascist CIA and FBI." [REDACTED]

Seale's prompt reaction to Johnson's statement and his stern denunciation of a fellow black who claimed to be a member of the BPP suggests the importance which the Panthers attach to their relations with Castro. The BPP regards Castro as a revolutionary hero and comrade in the struggle against white imperialism, and obviously Seale did not want to risk jeopardizing his relations with Cuba by allowing a black malcontent to implicate the BPP in criticism of the Cuban regime. Seale was doubtless also aware that one problem which the Panthers and other black extremist groups have in seeking foreign financial support is convincing their potential benefactors that the investment will pay dividends. Although less cautious and more "revolutionary" than the Soviets, the Cubans and Chinese are not foolish. They are not likely to invest scarce foreign exchange in organizations over which they have only minimal control or which are so distracted by internal dissension that they are unable to conduct a successful revolutionary program. There is little doubt that the Cubans particularly, and the Chinese as well, would very much like to acquire a strong influence over the black militants. It remains to be seen if they will be successful in doing so.

Although the Communists would like to see a single, unified, broadly-based black revolutionary front, they may be forced to accept the reality -- at least for the near-term -- of a series of small black groups struggling among themselves. However, the Black Panthers appear to have the potential for becoming a large and powerful revolutionary force, preeminent

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 35 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c) and 3.3(b)(1)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

within the black community. At the present time, it would appear to represent the best target of opportunity for foreign Communist exploitation, particularly since SNCC has diminished in influence, if not in revolutionary fervor.

On July 3, 1969, Stokely Carmichael denounced the Black Panthers for its alliances with white groups. He called the Panther's methods "dishonest and vicious." It is impossible to believe that Carmichael would have any scruples about the legal or moral virtue of a revolutionary organization if he believed it was following the correct road to revolution. At the heart of his disagreement with the leadership of the Panthers is his refusal to accept the traditional Communist theory of the class struggle. He rejects this line, holding that the world-wide revolutionary struggle is racial, and the revolution must be waged along racial, not class, lines.

Carmichael's break with the Panther leadership suggests that he has lost this ideological struggle within the top councils of the organization (he lost a similar struggle within SNCC, from which he was expelled in 1967.) I tend to believe that the significance of Carmichael's attack is to be found in the inference which it supports that the present Panther leadership has opted for a black-white revolutionary alliance which adheres to traditional Communist theories about the nature of the revolutionary struggle, i.e., it is waged along class lines.

This analysis of recent events within the Panther organization suggests that the Panthers are acquiring a rigid Marxist-Leninist orientation and are likely to seek and receive extensive foreign Communist support, financial and otherwise, in the days ahead.

In a report conspicuous for the absence of hard facts, the CIA declared that the "relative lack of firm Agency-developed information on the subject may either represent the true situation, i.e., the absence of extensive foreign Communist support, or it may be a reflection of a lack of enough well placed sources." I tend to believe that it is the latter. I suspect, as do some high ranking intelligence experts at the FBI and [REDACTED] that there has been more financial support rendered by the Communists than we know about. More important, I believe that there is likely to be a great deal more such support in the future as the leaders of revolutionary organizations recognize that revolution is possible only through disciplined leadership -- and disciplined revolutionary leadership is Communist leadership.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/11:36 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

~~TOP SECRET~~IV. CONTACTS BETWEEN LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST
MOVEMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN COMMUNIST GROUPS

* * * * *

In addition to the channels of communication open to foreign Communists within the confines of the United States, leaders of the U.S. revolutionary protest movement have in recent years begun to reach out beyond the continental limits of the United States to solicit the support of foreign Communists and revolutionary movements abroad. New Leftists and black extremists travel abroad extensively and participate freely in various international conferences which are invariably attended by and sometimes sponsored by Communists. At the same time revolutionaries frequently travel to the United States and confer with leaders of the protest movement in this country.

Cuba and North Vietnam have been particularly strong magnets for New Left protest groups. Much of the strength of these organizations derives from their ability to maintain close relationships and dialogues with foreign Communist establishments. For instance, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) maintains a foreign contact list of over 300 individuals and organizations throughout the world. Its chairman, David Dellinger, has traveled to the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Cuba and Sweden in furtherance of opposition to the war in Vietnam. His relationship with the North Vietnamese is so intimate that last week they insisted upon his presence in Paris before they would even discuss the promised release of three American prisoners of war. The State Department dutifully complied with this request and Dellinger was released from the cognizance of the Federal District Court in Chicago where he is under indictment in connection with the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention so that he might fly to Paris. The NMC and Dellinger maintain almost constant contact with the Governments of Cuba and North Vietnam (DRV) and representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Dellinger feels -- rightly it appears -- that such contacts give the NMC and himself notoriety and build their image in the movement.

Since 1965 there has been close coordination and cooperation between U.S. antiwar groups and the North Vietnamese and NLF. An interesting account of the international coordination which culminated in the 1967 March on the Pentagon is at Tab A.

American revolutionary leaders are frequently in attendance at international conferences at which the strategy of revolution is the central topic under discussion. Frequently these conferences have been held for the exclusive purpose of coordinating the world-wide protest against U.S. policy in Vietnam. On several instances these sessions have

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[ENL 06-08/1: 37 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

been held at the request of the National Liberation Front as in the case of the Stockholm Conference which took place in May of this year at the request of the NLF and DRV delegations to the Paris Peace Conference. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, chief NLF negotiator in Paris, headed the NLF delegation at the Stockholm Conference. Both the NLF and DRV delegations showed considerable concern over the deteriorating anti-war movement in the U.S. and indicated that without public opinion in the U.S. calling for American troop withdrawal, their efforts to achieve victory would be handicapped. They urged those attending the conference, particularly those from the United States, to revitalize the deteriorating anti-war sentiment.

An interesting and representative sampling of the international conferences attended by American revolutionary leaders is at Tab B.

The ease with which foreign revolutionary leaders can enter the United States has contributed to the international exchange of revolutionary ideas and programs. If the United States decided to abolish the visa requirement for foreign visitors as is presently contemplated, the number of foreign revolutionaries entering the United States is likely to increase substantially. Information on previous visits by these foreign activists is at Tab C.

SANITIZED per 14(c)

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN06-08/1: 38 of 55]

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

V. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

* * * * *

Historically, the United States has been the target for subversive activities emanating from and directed by the international Communist movement in an effort to foment disorder and disruption in a revolutionary vein. The change from the monolithic nature of the movement to polycentrism only served to magnify the problem in that it diversified the subversive attack.

Regardless of the diversification, the basic nature of the attack remained the same. It emanated from Communist forces abroad and was channeled into this country through Communist-bloc diplomatic establishments and old-line Communist groups and organizations working to advance international Communism.

From the standpoint of the FBI's responsibility to counter these subversive thrusts, there were two significant factors which enabled it to mount effective counterintelligence operations.

The first factor was that the activities took place for the most part within our borders. It was a situation which lent itself to effective utilization of manpower for coverage and counterintelligence purposes.

The second factor was that the activities were engaged in by organizations, such as the CPUSA, which were tightly structured organizationally in the traditional pattern of Communist parties throughout the world. As such, they presented clear-cut targets for informant penetration.

Because these old-line organizations also followed the traditional pattern of operating under the concept of democratic centralism with an insistence on rigid discipline throughout party ranks, high-level informant penetration provided an insight into strategy and tactics being considered at all levels. Here, too, it was possible to effectively negate their thrusts.

The emergence of the New Left and black extremist movements in our society drastically altered the situation. They evolved mostly out of social reform movements which increasingly have been transformed into hard-core revolutionary movements dedicated to the total destruction of our democratic traditions and our society.

They produced a new breed of revolutionaries whose main preoccupation with Communism is that it has produced men like Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevarra, whom they hope to emulate in the overthrow of a system they deem oppressive.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1: 39 of 55]

SANITIZED
per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

From the inception of these movements, the FBI has been aware of the fact that their increasingly revolutionary Communist imprint posed new and unique problems for the internal security of this nation.

As these forces of revolutionary protest hardened in their resolve to accomplish their purpose, more and more they reached out to join hands with and seek support not only from old-line Communists inside our country, but also from Communists and anarchists abroad.

In effect, the picture has changed from one in which international Communist forces sought out supporters within our country to carry out their objectives to one in which domestic revolutionaries are reaching out in search of support from anyone, including Communists, throughout the world who will help and support them in their own destructive aims.

Since the objectives of both so clearly coincide, it is inevitable that they will join forces in common cause. The willingness of the Soviets, Chinese, and Cubans to support the efforts of domestic revolutionaries in this country has been demonstrated. In addition, the movement of the New Left and black extremist revolutionary protestors toward increasingly centralized, more tightly disciplined organizations will facilitate the inevitable linkings.

It is essential that we bring together and intensify the intelligence capabilities of our country to meet this growing threat. It is imperative that we penetrate all the channels of communication between foreign Communist forces and domestic revolutionaries; that we take all possible additional investigative steps to safeguard the security of this nation in a time of multiplying and expanding crises. This has become mandatory because of increasing problems which may be anticipated in the future by reason of the growing alliances with foreign Communist elements.

There are significant gaps in our present intelligence collection efforts which are likely to grow in the future. I am convinced that the FBI is doing, with the resources presently available, a fine job of monitoring the revolutionary leaders and activities which take place in this country. However, CIA coverage of contacts by U.S. revolutionary leaders with Communists abroad is totally inadequate. In fact, I am convinced that CIA has failed to assign an adequate priority to this problem and is not making good use of the resources presently at its disposal.

From an intelligence point of view, we face several significant problems in adequately covering the activities of U.S. revolutionary protest organizations.

(1) Political Limitations. Since the exposure by Ramparts magazine of CIA use of American student and trade union organizations as covers for intelligence collection activities abroad, CIA has been forced to cut back

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NL106-08/1:40 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

significantly its collection efforts in this area. Moreover, concern of exposure has created an unhealthy caution at CIA which has resulted in too extensive a cutback. However, there are very real political limitations on a full-scale intelligence collection effort. Many responsible Americans, liberal and conservative alike, are vigorously opposed to government surveillance on the activities of American citizens. NSA is prohibited by law from targeting against the communications of U.S. citizens, and the public fervor over the exposure of FBI wiretaps has accentuated the problem. Public exposure of the fact that the Government is monitoring the activities of U.S. student and peace groups would likely result in an outrage on the part of a significant portion of the public.

(2) Geographical Limitations. Most of the activities which we wish to cover occur in denied areas, i.e., in Communist countries. This poses serious problems for us even if the CIA were making a full-scale effort to acquire the information we need. [REDACTED]

(3) Inter-Agency Coordination. The members of the intelligence community do not coordinate their activities in a fashion that is even minimally adequate. While I have found no evidence to suggest that one agency withholds information which it has available, I have found far too many instances where more extensive and valuable intelligence could have been acquired if the intelligence community worked more closely together in the selection of targets and the pooling of sources. I am convinced that the intelligence community is not taking full advantage [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] We are not getting all the information potentially available from our present resources simply because of inadequate coordination within the intelligence community.

(4) Utilization of Intelligence. It is not of much assistance to know what the revolutionary organizations are doing if that information is not utilized in planning appropriate countermeasures. I was surprised to learn that, although student disorders and mass protests have been with us for nearly a half decade, this is the first time any effort has been made to pull together information available within the intelligence community on the problem. However, even the most exhaustive collection of intelligence data is worthless unless it provides the policy formulator information upon the basis of which he can determine what steps should be taken to meet the problem of revolutionary violence. Currently, there are at least six staff offices in the White House, five at the Justice Department, and half a dozen at HEW dealing with aspects of this problem. None are aware of what the others are doing and none have the entire problem in perspective so that a government-wide, coordinated approach to the problem can be undertaken.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[ENCLOSURE-08/11/41 of 55]

SANITIZED per 14(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

I believe that, after inflation, revolutionary violence is the most pressing domestic problem confronting this country. Yet, there is no in-depth analysis of the total problem, no significant effort to develop a comprehensive program to deal with it, and no single individual, staff element, or agency responsible for working on it.

Revolutionary violence, from student disorders to urban riots, is largely one problem. Yet, we have approached the problem much like the proverbial blind men and the elephant, feeling a leg here, a trunk there -- feeling only a small portion of it, we have failed to clearly identify exactly what the problem is we are confronting. The result has not only been inaction, but a disarming assurance that it is likely to go away if only we recognize the "legitimate" grievances which we think it represents.

I do not believe that a Communist revolution in this country is likely or probable. I do believe that Communist revolutionary violence is not only likely, but inevitable if the Government does not take steps to thwart it. Several intelligence officers in different agencies told me in the course of my study that they believe we are confronted with the most serious threat to our internal security in their lifetime. And the greatest threat is our blindness to the nature of what is occurring around us in the country today.

I am convinced that it is possible to break the back of the revolutionary protest movement, perhaps in less time than it will take to end the war in Vietnam, if -- and only if -- all the resources of the government, including its ability to educate and motivate the private sector, are mobilized in a carefully conceived and meticulously administered program.

The major difficulty I see in dealing with this problem is convincing top-level government leadership that we must adopt a program which couples the stick with the carrot if we are to have any hope at all of solving it. At the time we are putting the screws to the militants on the campus, we must simultaneously hold out some promise of reform to moderate students; at the time we are busting up the Black Panthers, we must be taking steps which reassure the moderate Negro leadership. This requires the closest possible coordination, and I am not convinced this is even remotely possible in government.

However, we have a very serious problem on our hands, and it is my hope that an equally serious effort to solve it will be made.

~~TOP SECRET~~ [REDACTED]

SANITIZED COPY

[NLN 06-08/1; 42 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

SANITIZED COPY

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONTACTS BETWEEN U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT AND FOREIGN
COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS IN PREPARATION FOR PENTAGON
PEACE DEMONSTRATION OF 21 OCTOBER 1967

* * * * *

- (1) On 19 April 1967, David Dellinger was contacted by VIETPEACE (the VN Peace Committee - Hanoi) to arrange for a group of four to come to Hanoi "for some pressing discussions." Dellinger was given a list of people from whom the group was to be recruited (among the names suggested were Staughton Lynd, former Yale professor; Stokely Carmichael; Floyd McKissick; Dagmar Wilson; and a member of SDS selected by Dellinger.)
- (2) Dellinger arrived in Hanoi on 26 May. Although he had planned to stay a week, he did not leave until about 11 June.
- (3) From 6 to 9 July, representatives of VIETPEACE and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (a U.S. "peace" group) met in Stockholm for discussions.
- (4) On 17 July, the Rev. James Bevel, Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee and also a leader in Martin Luther King's SCLC, contacted Do Xuan Oanh, Secretary of VIETPEACE, in Hanoi saying that he was "anxiously waiting reply concerning our Stockholm discussion" and suggesting that they meet for further consultation "in Paris, Prague or elsewhere." Do Xuan Oanh replied "the problem has been discussed already, reported to the authorities and is under consideration."
- (5) Between 25 July and 17 August, Dellinger and Do Xuan Oanh had numerous contacts regarding arrangements for a large meeting of anti-war activists to be held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia from 5 to 13 September. On 4 August Dellinger informed VIETPEACE that "plans are progressing well" and that he preferred to send the list of delegates and proposed agenda to Prague. A list of the U.S. participants was provided the North Vietnamese on 19 September.
- [REDACTED]
- (7) Following the Bratislava meeting, a group of the delegates, including Tom Hayden and Renne Davis of SDS, flew to Hanoi.

~~TOP SECRET~~

SANITIZED COPY

[NIN 06-08/1: 43 of 55]

SANITIZED per 1.4(c)

EXEMPT

per sec 1.4(c)

MANDATORY REVIEW REQUEST

NLN 06-08 / 1

p. 44 of 55 pages

[NLN 06-08/1: 44 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES
OF U.S. REVOLUTIONARY PROTEST MOVEMENT

* * * * *

Numerous conferences throughout the world during the past few years have evidenced both the international character of the revolutionary protest movement and the desire of foreign elements to influence the conduct of that movement within the United States. The majority of these meetings have focused on opposition to the United States position in Vietnam. As active participants in these gatherings, representatives of militant groups within the United States have joined with their foreign counterparts in efforts to undermine the United States. A representative sampling of such conferences will illustrate this point as well as give some indication of the disruptive anti-American proposals made at them.

1. International Conference on Vietnam

Stockholm was the scene of the International Conference on Vietnam held from July 6 through July 9, 1967. The World Peace Council, an international Communist front organization, was one of the principal organizers of this conference. Among the 452 persons who attended the conference from the United States were Dr. Benjamin Spock; CPUSA National Committee member Herbert Aptheker; the Reverend James Bevel of the SCLC; Amy Swerdlow of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Simon Casady, then an official of the National Conference of New Politics.

The conference made plans for a world "Peace In Vietnam Day" to coincide with the antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C. on October 21-22, 1967.

2. Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) Conference.

In July and early August, 1967, Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was a guest of the Cuban Government and an "honorary delegate" to the conference of the LASO held in Cuba. He sought to tie in the Negro extremist activities in the United States with the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle which was the basic theme of the conference. With head-quarters in Havana, LASO was formed by communist, revolutionary and terrorist groups from various Latin American countries dedicated to the violent overthrow of imperialism, particularly United States imperialism.

3. Bratislava Conference.

About forty representatives of various U.S. organizations (including the National Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) met in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. (NLF).

~~TOP SECRET~~

[NL406-08/1: 45 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

2.

The delegates from the United States were furnished free lodging and meals while at the conference, but were required to pay their own transportation expenses. The U.S. group was organized by David T. Dellinger, Tom Hayden, and Nick Egleson (the latter two being former SDS Chairmen.) The American delegates were thoroughly briefed by Dellinger well in advance of their departure and were instructed to be prepared to give reports and participate in discussions on various topics, including the antiwar, student, and civil rights movements and an analysis of the current American political situation. Dellinger told the delegates that the purpose of the conference was to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Vietnam and their supporters in the United States and that the delegates were chosen on the basis of their experience in radical activity.

According to a Czechoslovak press agency report, the conference discussed "the future development of the anti-war movement." The NLF delegation was headed by Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh (currently head of the NLF negotiating team in Paris and "Foreign Minister" in the recently established provisional "Government".) The Czechoslovak press agency report concluded: "The Czechoslovak Peace Committee provided everything required to make this meeting possible."

4. Havana Cultural Congress.

In January of 1968, an International Cultural Congress was held in Havana. Five hundred writers, scientists, performers, artists, journalists, and educators from 70 countries, including about 50 Americans, attended. Among the familiar faces in attendance were David Dellinger; SDS leaders Tom Hayden, Carl Davidson and Todd Gitlin; Robert Scheer of Ramparts; and Linus Pauling. Five members of SNCC reportedly traveled to Havana to attend this conference. This travel was handled through the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN). The announced purpose of the conference was to obtain unity of action in Cuban anti-imperialism fights. The final declaration of the Congress proclaimed that armed struggle was the only road open to the underdeveloped countries of the world seeking economic development and that "North American imperialism is today the bloodstained representative of oppression, misery, economic backwardness and cultural genocide."

5. International Conference of Lawyers for Vietnam.

This conference, held in Grenoble, France in July of 1968 was sponsored by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), the international Communist front in the legal and parliamentary field. Closely cooperating with IADL has been a U.S. organization called "Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam" (LCAPV). Among its leaders are William L. Standard and Carey McWilliams, who have been cited numerous times by the House Committee on Internal Security for involvement in Communist fronts. Also on the Lawyers Committee are well-known professors Richard Falk, Hans Morgenthau, and Quincy Wright. The five-man delegation representing the LCAPV worked closely with the DRV and NLF delegations, dominating the proceedings and drafting the meeting's final resolution. The LCAPV continues its

[NLN06-08/1:46 of 55] ~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

3.

activities, recently having published a "Five-Point Program to End the War in Vietnam" which it presented to the latest (16-18 May 1969) Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

6. Japanese Conference on Vietnam.

An international meeting sponsored by Beheiren, a militant Japanese peace group, was held in Kyoto, Japan, August 11-14, 1968. Approximately 250 antiwar activists, including 23 from the United States, were in attendance. Discussion centered on such subjects as how to wage a campaign against war and for social change throughout the world, how to deal with the Okinawa issue and the United States-Japan Security Pact, how to assist United States deserters and draft evaders and how to coordinate antiwar movements around the world.

Among the U.S. delegates present were representatives of SNCC, SDS, Women Strike for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, American Friends Service Committee, and the Quaker Action Group. The CPUSA was also represented.

7. Ninth Youth Festival

The American delegation to the Ninth Youth Festival held in Sofia, Bulgaria, 28 July to 6 August 1968, consisted of 85 persons, 11 of them members of SDS. The conference was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students (both of which are controlled by the Soviet Union.) North Vietnamese and NLF representatives were present at the Festival along with American deserters. W.E.B. DuBois Club members, although a minority of the delegation, effectively controlled it (reflecting Soviet control of the entire Festival preparations.) Great propaganda attention was focused on the U.S. role in Vietnam. William Cathbert, Chairman of the American Deserters Committee in Stockholm, announced that the Bulgarian government had financed the attendance of the American deserters who held several press conferences and appeared jointly with the members of the NLF. After the conference, and in response to a Soviet request, the delegation leader (also president of the CPUSA-controlled DuBois Clubs) selected eight Black delegates to tour the USSR.

Contacts between Americans and other delegates at the Festival were confined generally to exchanges of greetings, exchanges of addresses, presentation of pins or souvenirs, and the like -- all on a more or less formal basis. There was little interdelegation contact between American and Soviet representatives and what little there was appeared to be accidental. There appeared to be little or no socializing among delegations, even though several ate at the same restaurants.

There were serious disagreements within the American delegation resulting largely from the leadership of Jarvis Tyner, President of the DuBois Clubs, and his assistant, Caroline Black. The SDS delegates challenged their leadership on several occasions, charging that they were partial to DuBois Club delegates.

[NLN06-08/1: 47 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

4.

The SDS delegates were labeled racists and accused of opposing Black and Tyner because they were black. Most of the American delegates found the Festival generally successful because it had accomplished the aims for which it was created -- "peace, solidarity, and friendship" -- but claimed that this had been possible only through individual efforts of the delegates and not because of demonstrated ability on the part of the leaders.

There were rumors of deep-seated dissension at the international level as well. Some said that there was trouble because revolutionaries could not talk and argue as they wished and that the moderates were in control. Castro and Mao radicals found the Soviet brand of Communism too conservative and insufficiently revolutionary. They also classified the USSR as too capitalistic.

Two members of the American delegation who visited the Chinese Embassy in Sofia were followed when they left by Bulgarian secret police who confiscated material picked up at the Embassy, including the complete works of Mao Tse-tung. No reason was given for the confiscation.

8. Budapest Conference.

Twenty-eight Americans opposed to the war in Vietnam traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the NLF to discuss strategy on the U.S. campuses. The meeting was held in Budapest in September of 1968 and was arranged by David Dellinger, head of the National Mobilization Committee. Vernon Grizzard, former national vice president of SDS and one of the participants, stated that this meeting centered on the Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest, and on furthering unrest among U.S. military personnel. Grizzard stated that the Vietnamese gave no direction for activities in the United States, but they were pleased and interested in "our" plans.

Nine of the U.S. representatives to this conference had taken part in the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago only a few weeks before.

9. Western Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam.

From November 28 to December 1, 1968, the Communist Party of Canada hosted a conference in Montreal attended by approximately 1,700 delegates and observers, including a 5-man delegation from North Vietnam headed by Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture, and a 2-man delegation from the NLF.

This conference was first proposed by the CPUSA at a secret meeting of Western Hemisphere Communist parties during the Consulative Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties in Budapest early in 1968. It was decided at this time to hold the conference during October when it would have the greatest impact on the 1968 elections. It was also suggested at this meeting that each country send 10 - 20 delegates, except the United States

[NLN106-08/1: 480955]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

5.

and Canada, which would be expected to send 500-1000 delegates. Gus Hall, chairman of the CPUSA, stated that delegations should include representatives of anti-imperialist groups such as pacifists, church groups, and youth and trade union groups. Throughout the summer of 1968 the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the CPUSA worked closely together to set up the conference. A dispute arose when the CPC wanted to limit its scope to questions of Vietnam and the danger of U.S. imperialism to Latin America. The CPUSA, however, wanted to broaden its scope to include all aspects of imperialism, including its implications in U.S. domestic developments. These two positions continued to be a point of disagreement throughout the conference. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union contributed a substantial amount of funds to support this conference, but five prospective Soviet observers to the conference were refused Canadian visas because "the Russians had proposed an official delegation which would have promoted the official policy of the Soviet Union."

The approximately 25 members of the Black Panther party (BPP) in attendance, with the aid of white radicals, took over control of the conference following a series of fights and scuffles. Together with other extremists they attacked the "solidarity with the Vietnamese" theme. They wanted to assist North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, but wanted to denounce American imperialism in a wider context as well. A participant at the conference described the BPP members as "black storm troopers" and said no decision was made at the conference without consideration of the Panthers' reactions.

BPP leader Bobby Seale had originally been unable to attend because of lack of funds. However, his followers took over one session and the delegates "voluntarily" raised the money to pay Seale's way to Montreal. He addressed the closing session and called for the overthrow of colonial powers. Seale also had a series of conferences with the North Vietnamese and NLF delegations.

10. Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

The Stockholm Conference was held May 16 through 18, 1969. Approximately 350 to 400 individuals from 52 countries representing a myriad of peace and antiwar groups were present. About 25 individuals from the United States attended.

The conference was planned and requested jointly by the NLF and the DRV delegations to the Paris Peace Conference. Assisting in the coordinating and setting up of the conference was the Swedish International Liaison Committee (ILC). Among the leaders of the ILC are Carl H. Hermansson, chairman of the Swedish Communist party, and Dr. John Takman, Communist head of the Swedish Peace Committee. The ILC has been partially funded by the World Peace Council.

[NLN 06-08/1: 49 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

6.

The primary purpose of the conference was to promote acceptance of the NLF/DRV Ten Point Peace Plan among the world intellectual community. The NLF and the DRV reportedly hoped thereby to use the influence of these intellectuals in their respective countries to develop world opinion in support of their proposed solution to the war.

The head of the NLF delegation in Paris, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, indicated privately during the conference that Hanoi was considering having prominent U.S. Black militants, particularly those opposed to the war, visit Hanoi some time in the next four or five months. Both the NLF and the DRV delegations showed considerable concern over the deteriorating anti-war movement in the U.S. They indicated that without public opinion in the U.S. calling for American troop withdrawal, their efforts to achieve victory would be handicapped. They urged those attending the conference, particularly those from the U.S., to revitalize the deteriorating anti-war sentiment.

Besides representatives from the NLF and the DRV, there were delegations to the conference from some other Bloc countries (GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the USSR).

The American delegation consisted of about 25 individuals representing at least eleven organizations. Two Americans addressed the conference. Professor John B. Nielands, of the University of California at Berkeley, spoke critically on U.S. "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam," and Professor Franz Schurman gave a speech on "The Nixon Administration and the Vietnam War." American intellectuals in attendance included Anatol Rapaport, Noam Chomsky, and Gabriel Kolko. American organizations represented included the American Friends Service Committee, the National Lawyers' Guild, Women Strike for Peace, Resist, SNCC, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and the War Resistor's League.

A report of the Working Group on Action of this conference set forth seven proposals to be used to undermine support of the United States position in Vietnam. These were:

- a. Collection of signatures of prominent people to be publicized in newspapers.
- b. National and international demonstrations on July 4 in the form best suited to the organizations and the movement in each country. Specific suggestions called for vigils outside United States Embassies on July 4 and the reading aloud of names of Americans killed in Vietnam.
- c. Boycott of United States firms providing goods for the war in Vietnam or engaged in the transporting of such goods.
- d. Increased international support for draft resistance in the United States and by Americans abroad; encouragement of defection from the United States armed forces; and, opposition within the Army.

~~TOP SECRET~~

[NLN 06-08/1: 50 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

7.

e. Increased support of the 10-Point Program of the NLF and exposure of "the weaknesses" of President Nixon's Eight-Point Program.

f. A campaign for recognition of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by more world governments.

g. The issues of the war in Vietnam, particularly the unconditional withdrawal of United States troops and the 10-Point Program of the NLF, should be stressed as widely as possible at all national and international conferences.

With regard to proposal number one enumerated above, the June 25, 1969, edition of "The Washington Post" carried a three-quarter page advertisement calling for the President to end the war in Vietnam now. Specifically, the signers of this advertisement, many of whom have had communist affiliation, called for a halt to offensive military operations and the withdrawal of all United States troops within one year to begin immediately.

11. World Assembly For Peace.

The World Peace Council Conference was held in East Berlin, June 21-23, 1969, and was concerned with the following points:

- a. Unceasing denouncement of United States imperialism.
- b. Recognition of the government of the German Democratic Republic by the United States and other countries within its sphere of influence.
- c. Encouragement to the Vietnamese to continue fighting inasmuch as they are fighting the battle of all emerging nations and this will give the latter the courage to fight their own wars of liberation.
- d. Support of provisional revolutionary governments wherever they occur.

This gathering constituted the de facto Eight Congress of the World Peace Council and was a convocation of all international Communist front leaders behind a facade of some 900 invited "supporters of peace." The delegation from the U.S. consisted largely of representatives of the CPUSA, and CPUSA fronts, but also included such organizations as the Women Strike for Peace (WSP), the SDS, and the Black Panthers. The WSP representatives were also invited to attend the International Women's Conference which is scheduled subsequently for Helsinki, Finland. This is another international front controlled by the Soviet Union. Expenses for the trip to Helsinki are to be paid by the East German Women's Congress.

In at least some instances, passage to the conference was being provided by the World Council for Peace. An Angie Dickerson was sent 20 Aeroflot tickets from New York City plus two KLM-IOT tickets for Dick Gregory. Three tickets were sent to a Carlton Goodlett, and one to Herbert Aptheker.

[NLN06-08/1: 51 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES BY FOREIGN
REVOLUTIONARIES

* * * * *

The virtual lack of travel restrictions by the United States, coupled with the comparative ease in obtaining a United States visa, practically eliminates any problems foreign leftists have in traveling to the United States. There have been numerous such individuals who have traveled here in the past for varying reasons. Notable among these are Ernest and Gisela Mandel from Belgium and Karl Deitrich Wolff from Germany.

Ernest Mandel is a leading member of the Trotskyite Secretariat of the Fourth International. He is also an activist in the New Left movement throughout Western Europe. His wife, Gisela, was active in founding the anarchistic Socialist German Students Federation (German SDS) in Berlin and is friendly with leaders of various radical youth groups in Western Europe. She received a rugged training course in guerrilla warfare during the summer of 1968 while she and her husband were visiting Cuba.

Ernest Mandel's trip to the United States was arranged by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) while the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth arm of the SWP, organized the tour of Gisela Mandel. These two individuals, during September and October of 1968, made separate tours which took them to some 50 college and university campuses from coast to coast and border to border. Each appearance made by these two individuals was marked by their espousing the revolutionary doctrine of the New Left before United States college students.

Karl Deitrich Wolff, a former national chairman of the German SDS, entered the United States on February 25, 1969, reportedly to engage in a speaking and fund raising tour throughout the country and did not miss any opportunity to spread seeds of discontent and anarchy. He cited examples of harrassment and disruption and announced the need to build an international revolutionary alliance adding that a victory for the movement in one country is a victory for the movement in another.

Wolff was subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and during his testimony expressed support for the regimes in Cuba and North Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

A Black Panthers rally in Los Angeles on November 6, 1968, was addressed by a Mexican student who was reportedly associated with the Student Strike Committee of Mexico City, which organization had been involved in violent clashes with Mexican police and military units. During a subsequent meeting, it was agreed that Mexican student leaders would come to Los Angeles to instruct the Black Panthers in disruptive tactics and that Black Panther members would go to Mexico for training.

~~TOP SECRET~~

[NLN06-08/1: 52 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~ORGANIZATION APPENDIXBlack Panther Party (BPP)

The Black Panther Party was formed in 1966 at Oakland, California. Its stated purpose is to organize black people so they can "take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of black communities." The BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program and encourages Negroes to arm themselves against the police. Its publications contain quotations from the writings of the leader of Communist China and feature his statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." It is headquartered at Berkeley, California.

Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV)

The Committee of Returned Volunteers was established in 1966 at New York City and is composed of individuals who have worked abroad in such programs as the American Friends Service Committee and Peace Corps. It has a membership of approximately 3,000 individuals and 12 chapters throughout the United States. It has been active in demonstrations protesting United States policy, particularly the draft and the war in Vietnam. Its leaders have discussed establishing contact with revolutionary groups, aiding guerrillas, destruction of existing governments and the transmission of information to Soviet-bloc countries. The CRV has declared that it seeks radical changes in United States policy towards Asia, Africa, Latin America and emerging communities in the United States.

National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC)

The NMC was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1966. It is a coalition of over 100 antiwar, antidraft, black extremist and pacifist groups. Among the organizations which participated in NMC activities are the CPUSA, SWP, SNCC and the American Friends Service Committee. The NMC has organized major protest demonstrations including the march on the Pentagon in October, 1967; the disruptive demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in August, 1968; and the demonstrations during the Presidential Inauguration ceremonies in January, 1969. Its officers include David Dellinger, who has travelled to the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Cuba and Sweden in furtherance of opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Republic of New Africa (RNA)

The Republic of New Africa is headquartered at Detroit, Michigan. It is a black extremist separatist organization whose stated purpose is the formation of a black nation within the United States. It advocates the formation of a black army to defend this black nation and to attack its enemies.

[NLS 06-08/1: 53 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

2.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

SDS, which is headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, was formed in 1962 and is an outgrowth of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy, an old-line labor-oriented Fabian Socialist organization.

The founding convention of SDS held at Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962, produced the "Port Huron Statement" which in effect provided the ideological framework for SDS, established the line of "participatory democracy," and set the direction for much of the subsequent activity of the organization.

In the ensuing years SDS has increasingly entered into the mainstream of revolutionary politics particularly with regard to its opposition to the American form of government. At its National Council meeting held in Austin, Texas, in March, 1969, SDS National Secretary Michael Klonsky stated, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement." The central appeal of SDS has been to the student. It currently has approximately 250 chapters located mainly on college campuses.

Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)

The SMC is headquartered at New York City. It is dominated by members of the SWP and/or members of the YSA. The SMC has been active in demonstrations against United States policy. Its aims are to bring about the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, to end university "complicity" with the war, and to establish self-determination for Vietnam and "black America." It currently publishes the "Student Mobilizer."

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

SNCC was formed in 1960 at Atlanta, Georgia, as a nonmembership civil rights organization. It took part in voter registration work in the South and was one of the moving forces behind the Freedom Riders of the early 1960s. In 1966 Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman of SNCC. He moved this group from the civil rights field to a full-blown revolutionary group. Carmichael urged Negroes to prepare for a "bloody revolution."

Carmichael was succeeded as National Chairman in 1967 by H. Rap Brown, who continued Carmichael's policy of denouncing United States' intervention in Vietnam, calling for rebellion by any means, and massive civil disobedience.

SNCC is a nonmembership organization which is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. It is composed of 50 staff members and a 15-member Central Committee.

~~TOP SECRET~~

[NLN06-08/1; 54 of 55]

~~TOP SECRET~~

3.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

WILPF, an international pacifist group, has its United States headquarters in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and has a current membership of 11,000 in 154 branches in the United States.

The WILPF advocates the right to self-determination, support of the United Nations, enforcement of civil rights laws and new approaches to the entire social welfare system. The organization is currently urging abolition of the Anti-Ballistic Missile System, withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam, and the elimination of racial discrimination.

Women Strike for Peace (WSP)

WSP is a national nonmembership women's pacifist group which maintains a national office at Washington, D.C. It has engaged in numerous protests against the draft, the war in Vietnam, nuclear tests, and the Anti-Ballistic Missile System. Representatives of WSP have been in contact with the National Liberation Front and have travelled to various countries including Cuba.

[NLN106-08/1; 55 of 55]